COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Corn Bill.——No. I.—I before notified my intention to oppose, with all my might, the projected Bill in all its stages, which intention nothing shall prevent me from carrying into effect, regarding, as I do, this project as one of the most outrageous attempts on the rights of mankind that ever was entertained.——I have read, with great attention, the Reports of the Lords' Committee, and the evidence subjoined to them. To enter into an examination of this mass of evidence; this jumble of crude matter; this mixty maxty of guess-work, facts, and speculations; this book of the philosophy of conceited farmers and land-surveyors; to point out the absurdities, the downright contradictions, the flagrant foolishness of men, who, while they complain that corn is *too cheap*, that is to say, too abundant, call for a Corn Bill in order to induce people *to make new inclosures*, which, as they say, would cause *more corn to be grown;* to go into any thing like detail in such a case would, I should think, be to insult the understandings of my readers.—I shall, therefore, content myself with stating, that the main point, to which the evidence and the reports tend, is this: that it is for the good of the nation, *that something should be done to prevent wheat from being sold under* 10*s. a bushel.*—But, first of all, I must notice the *source* of this evidence. Who are the *witnesses?* Persons who have come, upon being called upon to come by the Committee. The Committee state, that they endeavoured to get before them some of the persons who had petitioned against the Corn Bill last year; but then no such persons appeared; from which the Committee conclude, that the petitioners had no distinct notion on the subject; or, that they objected to a *hasty* passing of the Bill, without inquiry, and not to the passing of the Bill altogether. I cannot tell whether the invitations to these petitioners were very pressing. *My* objection to the Corn Bill was pretty well known to their Lordships. I dare say they had heard too that I was a *farmer;* and I have the presumption to suppose, that they must have thought me pretty nearly as capable of affording them information upon the subject as some, at least, of the moral philosophers, whom they examined. Their Lordships did not call *me* before them. If they had, they would have saved me the trouble of stating my objections through this channel; for they would have found me not so ready, as their other witnesses were, to support the pretensions of the project. Their Lordships might dislike my *politics;* but that could have no weight in a question like the present; and as to motives of self-interest, if the Bill be for the protection of the *farmer*, I must have been the best possible witness, seeing that my declared opinion was *against* the Bill.——What are the *grounds* upon which this Bill, if again brought forward, are to rest? Why these: that by prohibiting importation to a certain extent, wheat will be kept up to 10s. a bushel; that the farmer will then be able to grow it; that he will then take care to provide a supply for the nation; and that, by this means, inclosures will go on, and a security be obtained against scarcity.—— In the first place, it is impossible, under some circumstances, to keep wheat up to 10s. a bushel; and it is arrant nonsense to talk of it. If the crop be a very large one, wheat cannot be so dear as when the crop is very small. Besides, if every acre of any farm produces five quarters this year, and only two quarters and a half the next year, would you have the price the same in both years? Cannot the farmer afford to sell his wheat at 5s. in the former year, as well as he can afford it at 10s. in the latter year? And in what case is this notion of the 10s. to apply? In years of great crops or years of small crops? *When* is it that he can afford to grow wheat at 10s. a bushel? Is it when he has forty bushels to an acre, or when he has only sixteen or twenty bushels to an acre? It is clear, that, if a law ought to be passed to keep wheat up to 10s. a bushel on the ground

that the farmer cannot grow it for less), the law ought to extend beyond the prohibition of imports. It ought to provide also against the effects of *great crops*. It ought to provide some means of compelling the people *always* to buy wheat at 10s. a bushel. I leave the reader to guess at the out-cry which such a proposition would occasion; and yet, monstrous as is the idea, what does it contain of a nature more monstrous than the proposition, that something ought to be done to *insure* the farmer 10s. a bushel for his wheat; seeing that, as is asserted, he cannot grow it for less?—— It is asserted, that, by securing to him a high price, the farmer will be induced to grow so largely as to supply amply all the wants of the nation. But, if all these wants can be supplied at a *low* price, is not that as well? There stands France ready to supply all deficiencies; and why would you say to her, "You shall not supply us with cheap bread, because our farmers are ready to supply us with dear bread?" Has not this something monstrous upon the face of it? You want a supply. That is your object. And, when the supply is tendered you, you turn from it, and say, "No, our own farmers will supply us at double the price;" and, if we buy bread of you at sixpence a loaf, our farmers will turn sulky upon our hands, and will not grow us any wheat.—What would be thought of a proposition to prevent the people of Kent from sending wheat into Surrey and Middlesex? Yet, where is the difference? It is easier to convey wheat from Norway to Kent, than from Canterbury to London, or to Guildford. France is, I grant it, *a new country*. Her happy Revolution, by sweeping away the Corvees, the Gabelles, the Game Laws, the Feudal Laws and Rights, and the Tythes; by turning the convents into commodious farm-buildings, the gardens of the monks into yards, their cloisters into ox-stalls, their dormitories into pig-styes, their cemetries into dung-holes, and their chapels into barns. The Revolution, by these and other means, has made France a new country; has added to her capability of producing subsistence; has given her the full and free use of all the means that nature had allotted her. It must also be confessed, that, *as things now stand*, the English farmer meets the French farmer under circumstances of great disadvantage. About a fortnight ago I met, between Alton and [illegible] a Frenchman driving a herd of French cattle. He had brought them from Emsworth, and had been to France for them himself. From him I first learnt, that the importation of French *cattle* was put a stop to. I asked him how he liked France. He said very much, indeed; for that, in that country, there were neither *tythes* nor *turnpike-gates*. I endeavoured to convince him, that there was no hardship in the establishment of turnpike-gates, seeing, that, if the roads were not maintained in that way, they must be maintained by a tax of some sort, which would not be so fair, because it now fell upon persons like him and me, who *used* the road, and not upon those who never used it. And, as to *tythes*, I asked him if he was a married man; if his wife had been churched; if his children had been baptised. He answered in the affirmative; and, I then asked him how he could expect these comforts, together with those of the hearing of prayers and sermons, and of having his body interred in consecrated ground after he had, on his dying bed, received remission of all his sins. How he could expect these things, unless tythes were paid to support the priests and bishops. He said all the farmers grumbled at the tythes, and said, that if they were as free from burdens as the farmers of France, they should be able to sell cows and corn so cheap, that no one need go to France for them. "Aye, "my friend," said I, rather nettled, perhaps, at this grudging towards the church, "but, do you not see those farmers and "their wives and daughters tramping to "church every Sunday; do they not make a "terrible out-cry if any part of the clerical "duties are neglected; any of the forms "unobserved. Do they not want marrying, "and churching, and baptising, and confirming, and the sacrament, and the absolution? Is there not a gentleman, dressed in "long robes, to read prayers and to preach "to them? Is he not constantly on guard to "preserve them against the machinations of "the Devil; and, if any one were, like a "worthy friend of mine in Hertfordshire, to "deny the existence of the Devil, would not "the farmer and all his family fly at him, "and, if possible, tear his eyes out of his "head? Do they not applaud the sending of "a man to rot in jail, or to be pelted on the "pillory, who denies the truth of the religion taught by the Church? Do they not "call such a man by all manner of vile "names? Well, then, with what justice "does the farmer complain of tythes? Does

"he suppose, that a gentleman, who has "been at College, and learnt Greek and "Latin, to enable him to cope with the "Devil; does he suppose, that a gentleman "of this rank in life is to work all the Sun-"day to wipe from the farmer's dirty con-"science all the accumulated fraud and hy-"pocrisy of the week, is to have nothing "for his labour, though the book of our "faith tells him, that the labourer is worthy "of his hire? Does he suppose, that, "though the same holy book tells him, "that a man has no advantage if he gain "the whole world and lose his own soul, "that he saves his soul too dearly with *a* "*tenth part only of his crop?* What!" added I, in the ardour of my zeal, "would "the Hunks carry it to Hell with him, "and tender it as a bribe to the Devil, "rather than chearfully yield it here on "earth to the minister of God's word?" My auditor, though apparently a Butcher, seemed struck at this discourse, and a little boy, in a smock-frock, who was with him, was ready to fall down upon his knees. I had not time for further observation, and rode off with the satisfactory reflection, that I had given a new train of thought to two members of this "most thinking "nation." No, no; I am for none of these *stupid* attacks upon tythes, had in the natural selfishness of man, and fostered and supported by the philosophers of the agricultural societies. If any man will tell me, that he is ready for getting rid of tythes in the *same way* that the French got rid of their tythes; that is to say, by seizing on the church property, and turning the churches into barns and stables; that is to say, by a sweeping Revolution, I shall understand him; but, when I hear him railing against tythes with the litany hardly clear of his lips, I must set him down as a fool, or a knave, if not both at the same time. In the mean while, however, to return to my subject, it must be allowed, that the great changes which have taken place in France, have given to French agriculture very considerable advantages; but as the French have purchased these advantages by a Revolution, and as our farmers entered into the yeomanry cavalry to prevent a Revolution here, it is unreasonable in them to expect to participate in these advantages. From every thing I hear, and, indeed, I see quite enough, I am convinced, that, in ordinary years, France is able to supply us with food equal in amount to that of all our counties on the border of the Channel. This ought to be regarded as a great blessing. *This* is the best possible security against scarcity, which will never be found in the high price of corn at home. We have now, thanks to the peace, a country to resort to for food, when our own crops fail. It is nonsense to talk of *hording* up corn out of our own produce. We eat nearly all we grow in years of the greatest plenty. What, then, are we to do in years of *scarcity?* Do as we did before. Pay 2s. for the quartern loaf! And this we shall do, if this Bill pass; because the French, not *sure* of a market here, will raise little more than what they want for home consumption. But, let this Bill be rejected; let this project be scouted by Parliament; let the French farmer be *sure* that he has a market amongst us, and he will sow freely; he will always be able to supply our wants.——I must confess, that I was, when I wrote upon this subject some time ago, deceived as to the capacity of France in this respect.—I placed little reliance on importation. But France, I now find, is, in this regard, *a new country*. She is a land of milk and honey compared to what she formerly was. She was pouring in upon us food of all kinds, till a stoppage was put to the entry of cattle, and till other articles of food were taxed at our custom-houses. In this country, you cannot go by a farm-house, or over a heath, without seeing French cattle, sheep, or hogs. We were eating turkeys at 4s. each, and geese at 2s. before the stoppage took place. How many a waiting, watering mouth has this stoppage disappointed! ——One effort of this will be precisely the contrary of that which was expected from it. The stoppage will produce *emigration* with those who live upon their income; that is to say, those who live only to eat and drink and talk. They would prefer three turkeys to one; and as the turkeys cannot come to them, they will go to the turkeys; and then our farmers will lose them as customers altogether. It has been stated, in the public prints, that there are already 40,000 English families in France. Take them at an average of 7, servants and all, and you have a departed population of 280,000 people, who, it is to be observed, are none of them *paupers;* these, to the amount of a million and a half being all left behind to be supported by the rich and the middle class who remain in, and who have, of course, a heavier weight of taxes

than before, seeing that so many of the contributors are gone away.—So that the prohibition of French food will, to a certain extent, only increase the evil, which it is intended to prevent. Would it not be better to suffer the cheap food to come, and thus retain the customers for cloths, houses, goods and fuel, and the payers of taxes?—Men must eat. They like to eat at home best, but they will rather go to a cook's-shop than starve. Besides, the French can supply them with cheap drink as well as cheap food. There is some difference between a bottle of wine at 5s. and a better bottle at 1s. There is some difference between a house at 100*l.* and a better house at 20*l.* Let all be safely settled in France, and let the French Government (rejecting the advice of our malignant news-papers), adopt a wise system of *naturalization*, and allow of the possession of real property by aliens; and the corn-law people will soon see, that all their prohibitions are worse than useless.—There is something so monstrous in the idea of compelling people to purchase their food dear, when they can purchase it cheap, that human nature revolts at it. If a law were passed to compel a man to buy his loaf of one baker, who sold it at 2s. while the baker in the next street sold his bread at 1s. what would be said of such a law? What would the oppressed man do? Why, it would require another law, and a most severe one too, to keep him in the country, to retain him in existence under such an abominable law. Yet, in what respect would such a law *differ* in its nature from the law now talked of? Here is the French farmer ready to sell us his wheat, landed in England, at about 7s. a bushel; and the proposed law is to make us give 10s. to the English farmer. Next year, perhaps, the French farmer may be able to supply us at 5s. a bushel; and are we not to purchase of him, till ours will not sell it us for *more than* 10s? I confess, that such a law would be no more unjust than many other prohibitory laws that I have heard of. I think, that there ought to be no prohibitions against importations of any sort. I think, that commerce should be quite free. But, because there are prohibitions, I am not bound to approve of additional prohibitions. Because I cannot remove the imposts upon French wine, I am not bound to approve of imposts upon French corn and cattle.

National Defence.

Sir—When all Europe is covered with standing armies, and the liveries of men, *bred for the slaughter*, present themselves on every hand, it is not to be wondered at that the raw, uncouth, unfledged, soldiers of America, should excite the *derision* and *contempt* of the present unthinking race of Europeans. During the greater part of the lives of this generation, they have been accustomed to the pomp and parade of *field-days* and *reviews*, by which they have acquired an idea, that there can be no knowledge of *military tactics* where there is not a *red coat*, and that the man who has not a *feather* in his hat, his legs covered, even in the heat of summer, with *uniform gaiters*, and his neck bound round with a *leather collar*, as if he were in the *stocks*, neither possess the requisites of a *soldier*, nor the courage of a *patriot*. Even the noble stand made against the enemy, in *Bantry Bay*, at the beginning of the war, by a *motley* crew of *tattered* Irish, armed with *sticks*, *pitch-forks*, and other missel weapons, is incapable of doing away the established prejudice, that the *dress* is the only thing that constitutes the *warrior*. Absurd as this opinion may appear, it is nevertheless prevailing, and it is nothing uncommon to hear people, who on other subjects talk very rationally, telling their neighbours, with the greatest *gravity*, that it is "all nonsense in the Yankees to attempt resistance, as they have never been *drilled*, nor do they *look like* soldiers." Some are even so foolish as to say, that the American *officers* are also *ignorant*, and that, unless some *traitors* from the mother country, or some of *Boney's* cast-off Generals, get in among them, they never will be able to fight a battle. Thus, before poor Jonathan has had time to learn his *alphabet* in the school of military science, he must, according to these wise noodles, strike his flag to the superior skill and courage of the demi-gods of the ocean! I confess I am sometimes at a loss whether to attribute this disposition to run down the soldiers of all other nations, so prevailing among my countrymen, to wilful *misapprehension* of the truth, or to a spirit of unjustifiable *detraction*. To one or other of these it must be owing; for no man, after reading the late accounts, in our own *Gazettes*, of the well fought battles in Canada, can acquit himself of *partiality*, or of *envy*, if he does not allow, that the Americans shewed as much *cou-*

rage, and as much *skill* in these affairs as the best *dressed*, and the best disciplined regiment that was opposed to them. And why should they not? Why should not a people, who have given us so many *convincing* proofs of their *bravery* at sea, be equally *brave* on *land*, without the appendage of a bit of *scarlet* affixed to their backs, or any other *badge* or *insignia* of *slavery*. When I look into the history of my own country I find that our forefathers laid no stress on these vain trappings. In those days, indeed, there was no such thing as *standing armies*. Every man, as the Americans do now, learned to use the weapon of war from his infancy; and when he took the field against the foe, he neither wore a coat of scarlet, nor a coat of green; he fought with that in which he had been accustomed to fell the tree; he repelled the invader; and his grateful country were not prevented rendering him the homage due to his fame, because he had not gained her battles in the gaudy attire of modern heroes. It was in these days that Britain rested secure in an *armed people*, equally terrible to domestic as to foreign despots. It was then, it might be said with truth, that the only safeguard of the Constitution consisted, as it now does in America, in every citizen being possessed of a *sword*, and in the enactment and administration of the laws being confided to citizens only. The subject of standing armies has employed many able pens; and their *pernicious* influence has been often discanted upon; but I do not think any one has done more justice to the subject than Charles Lord Hawkesbury, in his *Discourse on the Establishment of a National and Constitutional Force;* a work originally published in the year 1757, but now little known in this country. His reasoning, indeed, is so very conclusive, that I cannot resist the temptation of closing this letter with the following extract, for which I hope you will contrive to find a corner in your REGISTER.

"The miseries and oppressions (says Lord Hawkesbury), which some States have suffered from the common sorts of armies, have made many absurdly apprehensive, that a firelock or a red coat must necessarily alter the *disposition* of the persons who have them. They do not observe that these evils have arisen from such only who have made war their *profession*. It is the *idle* and *dissolute* manner of living that alone debauches the soldier's inclination; when, without home, without industry, and without occupation, he must subsist either by pay or by plunder. Armies composed of such as these have sometimes *enslaved* a nation, under pretence of doing them *justice*. Our history furnishes a remarkable instance of this kind, which shews clearly what it is that converts a soldier into a rebel, and makes him dangerous to his country. As gallant an army as this nation ever saw, and which, at the same time, was particularly stiled the *modest* and *self-denying*, consisted of the youths of London, who, though unused to arms, and drawn in haste out of town, gave signal proof of courage through the whole civil wars, and at last defeated the royal army by one decisive blow at Naseby. If this army of the Parliament, after they had done the business for which they were called out, had been sent back to their trades, and had only been made use of as there was occasion for them, they would have been in the nature of a militia, and there would have been no danger to apprehend from them: But, by keeping them for several years constantly in the field, after the war was over; by training them to idleness, and making them forget their trades, and depriving them of the common methods of subsistence, they were made not at all the better soldiers, but became the worse citizens. Their dispositions were totally perverted; their modesty changed to presumption; they grew imperious and seditious; they refused to go to Ireland though they were commanded; neither would they be disbanded though the Parliament had no other occasion for their service. They petitioned—they remonstrated—they rebelled—and at length destroyed the authority of that Parliament which at first called them forth, and had performed such wonders by their assistance.

"Most of the nations of Europe were, till within these three centuries, defended by Militias;—and did not Holland, when her own citizens were obliged to be trained, defend herself against the power of Spain? Could the arms of Phillip, conducted by the genius of the Prince of Parma, ever penetrate far into *her* country? And did not the seiges of Harlaam, Alcamar, and Leyden, when they were garrisoned only by their own burghers, break the spirit of the Spanish veterans? And yet this very country was overrun, and most of her

towns taken, in the space of a month, in the year 1672, when the defence thereof was entrusted to 25,000 *mercenaries*.—It is useless to cite any more examples. The very *origin* of standing forces shews, that they were not thought indispensably necessary for the defence of a country. They were first raised to suppress rebellious subjects; to command the unwilling subjection of distant and oppressed provinces; or to extend the conquests of some aspiring prince into distant countries, for which he could not legally command the service of the Militia."

Yours, &c. A NORTH BRITON.

MARITIME RIGHTS.——The *Courier* writer is in a dreadful rage, from an apprehension that our claims to the sovereignty of the seas will be called in question at the ensuing Congress. But is there any thing more natural than that the Continental Powers, having, as they believe, put down the tyrant of the land, should also wish to put down the tyrant of the ocean? Our corruptionists are not surely so vain as to suppose, that the Allies, in combating Napoleon, were willing, when he was put down, that a maritime despotism, which had so long annoyed them, should continue in all its vigour. We seem to have secured, for some time at least, the neutrality, if not the support, of Holland. But has not Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and even Austria, to say nothing of France, had a thousand times occasion to complain of the haughty treatment they have received from us on the seas?—The moment, too, when our race of naval glory is somewhat checked by the Americans, seems favourable to the apprehended design, that the other maritime powers have it in contemplation to restrain our arrogance. It is true, they have all hitherto tried this and *failed* in the attempt. But the result of the struggle with France shews them what may be effected by *perseverance*, and the fatal blow which has been recently given to our naval superiority, may encourage them to the attempt. Formerly these Powers resisted our pretensions almost single-handed.—Now, they appear convinced of the necessity of *union*; and if such a coalition, as that which is spoken of, is formed, is it certain, considering the state of our relations with America, that we shall be able to oppose to it a successful resistance?—Desirous, however, as the Sovereigns of Europe may be to participate in the freedom of the seas, and indignant as they feel on account of our intolerant sway, it is possible, though by no means *probable*, notwithstanding the alarms and the vapouring of the *Courier*, that they may consider it prudent to postpone the consideration of the question, until after the Congress, when they will feel themselves at liberty to enter fully into our pretensions, without those restraints which must necessarily arise from the presence of a British Minister. I say this is *possible*, though somewhat improbable; and my reason for thinking the interference of the Allies probable, at present, is its likelihood, and the frequent recurrence of the French journals to the subject. The following article appeared in a late number of the *Gazette de France*, said to be taken from "the journal of one of the departments contiguous to the Rhine," and dated *Vienna*, September 29th.——"Questions of "more general interest are about to occupy "the Envoys of the great Powers. The "first, without doubt, will be to fix so- "lemnly the principles of the law of na- "tions, of which all speak, but only the "weak observe. France and Russia are "to stipulate, in the name of humanity, "that hereafter neutral commerce shall "not be pillaged in time of war, nor be "commenced without a previous declara- "tion, nor even without a certain delay in "order to negociate. The Emperor Alex- "ander has laid down the only plan capa- "ble of insuring these great principles: it "is a common compact between the Euro- "pean Powers to diminish their permanent "armies one-half.---Respect for the inde- "pendence of nations, the sacredness of "the imprescriptible rights of the legiti- "mate dynasties, the mutual guarantee of "established constitutions, the obligation of "uniting hereafter against all usurpation "and insurrection, will form the articles of "the new secret compact, in which the gra- "dual abolition of the Slave Trade will "figure also, but only as accessary."—Although nothing is *directly* said in this article respecting our *maritime* rights, there can be little doubt that the writer means these, when he speaks of *neutral commerce*, and reprobates our practice of *commencing* war without a previous declaration of hostilities. In a subsequent article from Paris, under the head *Vienna, Oct.* 5th, it is stated, "We remark that the Prince de

"Talleyrand Perigord has been received "with distinction by the two Emperors "and the King of Prussia. The Prince, "it is said, is to deliver at the opening of "the Congress *a Note of the highest im-* "*portance.*"—In remarking upon this last article, the *Courier* has published a private letter from Paris, dated the 15th instant, in which the writer says,—"Our Minister, "Prince Talleyrand, as I have heard, is "to remit a Memorial to the Congress, in "which it is to be urged that the *present* "*is the period* which more than any other "that ever preceded it, is the most proper "for the adoption and establishment of "those principles of public and national "law, which must tend to cement and "consolidate the peace of the world—that "the fixing the limits and demarcations "of the different States is subordinate in "importance to those principles—that the "application of them *merely by land* will "be an incomplete adjustment, liable, nay "certain, to be disturbed by the clashing "of principles between the *maritime* "powers—that these opposite principles "may and must tend to hostilities between "them, in which, as experience has shewn, "other powers, though not naval, are sure "to be involved. Hence no permanent or "long peace can be expected, unless the "Congress extends its attention and its "labours to this subject, which France "earnestly and solemnly invokes it to "do.——Whether these different statements ought to be regarded as indicating a clear intention on the part of the Allies to take up the subject at the ensuing Congress, I shall not be positive in asserting, though, as already said, every thing seems to me to point at this. The *Courier* has intimated, "that on the first serious men- "tion of such a stipulation by M. Nessel- "rode or Prince Talleyrand, Lord Castle- "reagh, of whose firmness they are well "convinced, would declare that his coun- "try rejected it with the utmost positive- "ness and indignation, and would sooner "nail the flag to the mast and go down "with the ship than accede to it."—And it speaks of the insertion of the above articles in the Paris Papers, being a proof "of the *animus* of the French Govern- "ment, and that Talleyrand may endea- "vour to *force* maritime questions upon "the Congress."—From the character of the Emperor Alexander, and the commanding station which the other Powers now hold, it does not seem to me that the *threat* of the *Courier* will have the effect of diverting them from their purpose, if an inquiry into our maritime claims has been resolved on. But how the copying an article from a foreign journal can be held a proof of the *animus* of any Government towards another, is altogether inconceivable. If this were to be held a just inference, the whole Powers of Europe would be in a state of constant hostility against our Government, for the articles which appear every day in our own Journals. As to Talleyrand being *disposed* to introduce maritime questions at the Congress, I entertain no manner of doubt. But to suppose, as the *Courier* does, that the French Minister will be able to *force* these discussions upon the attention of the Allies, is to admit that France possesses more influence on the Continent than we, in this country, have hitherto been willing to admit. The fact, in reality, seems to be: the maritime powers require no *stimulus* to induce them to enter upon a topic, which so many causes combine to render highly inviting. Let the proposal come from what quarter it may, I am persuaded it will meet with a cordial reception; and, if once fairly introduced, will not be abandoned, even although we should carry our threat into execution of "nailing the flag to the mast, and going down with the ship."

National Debt.—No. III.

Sir,—Hume says, that "the source of "degeneracy, which may be remarked in "free Governments, consists in the prac- "tice of contracting debt, and mortgaging "the public revenues, by which taxes may, "in time, become altogether intolerable, "and all the property of the State be "brought into the hands of the public *. "This practice is of modern date. The "Dutch first introduced the practice of "borrowing great sums at low interest, "and have well nigh ruined themselves "by it. Absolute Princes have also con- "tracted debt; but as an absolute Prince "can play the bankrupt when he pleases, "his people can never be oppressed by his "debts. Popular Governments, the peo- "ple, and chiefly those who have the "highest offices, being commonly the pub- "lic creditors, 'tis difficult for the State "to make use of this remedy, which, how- "ever it may be sometimes necessary, is "always cruel and barbarous. *This, there-* "*fore, seems to be an inconvenience, which*

* He must here mean a monied Aristocracy.

"*nearly threatens all free Governments*, "ESPECIALLY OUR OWN, AT THE PRE-"SENT JUNCTURE OF AFFAIRS." A period of nearly sixty years since elapsed, has no way diminished the truth of this assertion. If at that time a National Debt was in itself an evil, what must it be at present, when it has been so wantonly and extravagantly increased? Wantonly, in stirring up unnecessary wars; and extravagantly, in the mode of conducting them; while, as to the advantages arising from these wars, it would be very difficult for any Minister, or Minister's apologist, to point them out satisfactorily. To be sure, war abroad, in its commencement, gave an opportunity for persecution at home. In its continuance it afforded pretences for taxes, for a standing army, and for an enormous increase of navy: it gave permanency to a *then* perictitating system; it furnished an opportunity of abridging the liberties of the country; it eventually enslaved the minds as well as the persons, by spreading corruption through the whole mass. Even the cap of liberty disappeared from our coin, as all true idea of it vanished from our minds. Our slackheaded Cappadocian slaves drowned, with their clamour, every voice raised in behalf of freedom. The Constitution was their cry, and the open violation of that Constitution was their practice! A debt almost beyond the power of conception ensued: that debt was guaranteed by the rich; but the poor and their posterity were *mortgaged* by the representatives of wealth, to pay both interest and capital; and, at the end of twenty-two years, the nation is left in a much worse situation than it was at the commencement of this war: payment of the debt is now *impossible*. To pledge our posterity for its redemption in future, is the heighth of stupidity; and to saddle unborn generations with the payment of the interest, is a worse than highwayman act of injustice. If the debt be payable, let it be paid at present. If it be unpayable by us, LET A NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY ENSUE! Let a dividend be made of all the real securities given. If a loss must be encountered, let us meet that loss as men. But let us not hand over ruin to our posterity. Our behaviour, in the first instance, will be that of honourable men; but, in the second, it would be that of swindlers. Be just before you are generous! Court extravagancies, sinecures, and all needless expences, ought to be foregone by the servants of an indebted nation; else an indebted nation would be justified in dismissing all the causes of profusion that may stand in the way of its liquidating its just debts. To an individual, the first acknowledged law is self-defence. A nation, being an accumulation of individuals, has that same right and duty in a much more extended sense. If it chuses to exert it, who is there that shall dare say nay! *Solus populi primæ Lex.* To suppose the now sitting Congress will subscribe to our assumed sovereignty of the seas, cannot enter the mind of the most dull among our Courtiers. To imagine we are to enjoy exclusively all the markets of Europe, would be equally silly. Every nation views the first object with jealousy; and as to the second, experience, woeful experience, has already demonstrated to our complete conviction, that, during these twenty-two years of sanguinary and destructive warfare, we have, in nearly an equal proportion, been destroying our customers, and teaching them our manufactures. They now imitate us in all, equal us in most, and excel us in many; while our taxes are such that we cannot bring our goods into the market to compete with them. As a mercantile nation, we have run our race! Adhering to the system of late years, we are a ruined nation! and our sapient Ministry have left us but one remedy—economy, and an honest composition with the national creditors. These, we affirm, are both within the reach of a THOROUGH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and that THOROUGH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM is completely in the power of the people to bring about, as will be shewn hereafter.

ARISTIDES.

SABBATTI SEVI.

MR. COBBETT.—A few days ago I picked up the leaf of an old book, which contained the following account of Sabbatti Sevi. Perhaps, were it circulated in your valuable REGISTER, the catastrophe of the story might serve as a lesson to some who are fond of the marvellous—your Messiah-hunters and others.

A Subscriber to your Register.

Sabbatti Sevi, a Jewish impostor, who appeared at Smyrna in 1666, and pretended to be the Messiah, which opinion the Jews in these countries were so possessed of, that they left off their trades and business, as assuring themselves that the restoration of their kingdom was now come,

and the streets were covered with carpets for him to tread upon. The Jews expected that this Messiah should lead them to Jerusalem, or the Holy Land, and made provision accordingly to attend Sabbatti, who nominated those Princes who were to govern them in their march; and to such a height of folly and delusion were they arrived, that Nathan, the associate of Sevi, took the courage and boldness to prophecy, that in the month of June, the Messiah should appear before the Grand Signior, take from him his crown, and lead him in chains like a captive. Such discourses, with the general infatuation of the Jews in all places where they resided, made them, instead of transacting their usual affairs of traffic, stuff their letters with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their Messiah: as, that when the Grand Signior sent to take him, he caused the messengers to die instantly, upon which other Janissaries being again sent, they all fell dead, but with a word of his mouth he restored them to life; with many other lying wonders.——The Grand Signior having information of the madness of the Jews, sent a messenger to bring Sabbatti to Adrianople. Being brought into the presence, he appeared much dejected, and the Sultan told him in short, that if he could not shew him a miracle of his own proposing, he should be punished as a deceiver and impostor; which was, that Sabbatti should be stripped stark naked, and set as a mark for his most dexterous archers, and if the arrows pierced not his body, but that his flesh and skin were proof like armour, he then would believe him to be the Messiah, and that God had designed him that greatnes she pretended to.—Sabbatti, not having faith enough to stand so sharp a trial, renounced all his titles to kingdoms and governments, and humbly acknowledged that he was but a poor Jewish Priest, and had nothing of privilege or virtue above the rest of his brethren. The Grand Signior replied, that having committed treason, he had no other means to expiate his guilt but by turning Mahometan, or else the stake to be driven through him was ready at the gate. Sabbatti in this extremity declared, that he cheerfully embraced the Turkish faith, and esteemed himself much honoured to do it in his presence, and so he continued in the house of the Grand Signior ten years, and then died, exposing the Jews to the utmost scorn of the Turks and Christians in those parts of the world.

[Another account of Sabbatti Sevi states, that "after he declared himself a Mahometan, he thenceforward laboured to convert the Jews to Mahometanism—a change, he alledged, necessary previous to their final restoration. As a proof of the strange force of delusion, his followers still believed in him, even after such open, such avowed apostacy. They said Sabbatti was carried up into Heaven, and a Daemon had assumed the shape and white hair of the old man, on purpose to disgrace him."]

Peace and the Congress.

Sir,—The facility with which mankind fly from one source of consolation to another, is only to be equalled by their credulity, and their constant reliance upon *future* events, although every thing that is *past* ought to convince them, that the objects they are pursuing will always illude their grasp. On the approach of the Allies to Paris, in every step they took, our newspaper Press discovered the certain signs of a speedy and *lasting* peace, and the nearer the din and clangor of war approached the Parisian capital, the nearer to our firesides was the joyful harbinger, the nearer the welcome sound which was to bring us plenty and abundance. Well, then, peace was signed at Paris; peace was *proclaimed* at Paris, at Vienna, at St. Petersburgh, at Berlin, and in London; peace, in short, was announced to all Europe, and nothing remained to complete the universal joy but the presence of those *blessings* which are generally considered the attendants or companions of peace. But what has this much-longed-for, this every-where-sighed-for, peace brought us? What *blessings*, what advantages has it produced? None—nothing but chagrin and disappointment has been the reward of that perseverance and forbearance, which has so long characterized this credulous nation. One might have thought that disappointment, so great after such unwearied patience, would have opened the eyes of the people to the deceptive tricks by which they are misled by our hireling newspapers, and determined them to emancipate themselves from the leading-strings of their interested guides. Would you believe, however, Mr. Cobbett, that those very men, who were the loudest in their complaints against the peace, are

now the most forward in expressing their confidence, that the Congress now opened at Vienna will produce all those great and glorious results which we expected from the Peace.——The Congress is in every man's mouth; the Congress is to cure every thing; the Congress is the universal *panacea* by which trade is to flourish, corn to grow, the national debt to be paid, and the taxes to be taken off. In short, to *talk* of any thing else, to *think* of any thing else, but the Congress, or to doubt of its omnipotence, would involve a man, now-a-days, in as many difficulties as Jacobinism involved its professors, in this country, at the beginning of the French Revolution. This is a great grievance; and having given you the hint respecting it, I hope you will take an early opportunity of exposing it in your Political Journal.

A CONSTANT READER.

AMERICA.——I have given below the official documents as to the recent operations of the contending armies in Canada, and in the United States; a Proclamation of President Madison, respecting the destruction of Washington, and another Proclamation of Sir John Sherbrook, declaring the country lately occupied by our troops, *now to belong, in rightful sovereignty, to the Crown of England.* On these interesting and important documents, I intend offering some remarks in my next. Meanwhile, it might have been expected that so many disasters, occurring, in so short a period, to our army and navy, would have taught the corruptionists to be a little more moderate than of late when they discussed American politics. Instead of adversity producing this effect, the *Times* and the *Courier* are more *vehement, extravagant,* and *outrageous* than ever. In both, the American Government is loaded with the most opprobrious epithets; and the conductors of the French newspapers are denominated by the *Times* "*insolent* and *ignorant* declaimers," because they express a wish "that the country of "Washington, and of Franklin, may pre- "serve its independence, and not fall under "the *yoke* of England." From this it is clear, that if the hypocritical writer of this Journal had the Americans in his power, he would place them as much under the *yoke* as the most cruel and unrelenting negro driver places his unhappy slaves. The views of the *Courier* are pretty clearly expressed in the following article, which I have extracted from last night's paper:—

"The Americans give out, on the autho- "rity of letters from Ghent, that 'we "'have given way in the subject of the "'new Boundary Line for the Lakes— "'contenting ourselves with exacting that "'all armed vessels shall be destroyed, "'and none but ships of a certain tonnage "'be allowed to navigate the Lakes— "'that the principal object now relates to "'the Indians, we insisting to include "'them in the negociation and arrange- "'ment for Peace, the Americans desir- "'ing to treat with them separately." "This is the American account—the Bri- "tish must, of course, be a very different "one. *We must have a new boundary "line—any arrangement short of that will "be unsatisfactory.* Should the contest be "prolonged by that demand, the accom- "plishment of it will well compensate the "evil. Canada must no longer be left in "such a state, as that the invasion shall "be held up by the Americans *in terrorem,* "to influence our political measures. The "*exclusion* of the Americans by the war "from the fisheries was last year the means "of employing many thousand additional tons "of shipping, and consequently of seamen. "To give up therefore a branch of com- "merce which is of so much importance to "us as a naval power, as well as with re- "ference to its profit, would indeed be im- "politic. We shall not, we hope, falter a "moment in *enforcing our own exclusive "right in the fishery, as well as in de- "manding the* WHOLE OF THE LAKES; "but the war may on this account be "somewhat *prolonged.* This is at least a "probable opinion; but wisely conducted, "the contest must terminate in our favour. "There may be another effort; but that "will be the last. But it is the opinion "of some, that the conquest of Canada "having become hopeless, and the defence "of the American sea frontier still more "so, the American Government will be "inclined to make peace on any terms "they can procure. It is, however, to be "recollected, that our terms have risen, "and properly risen, with our successes, "and that they are such as go very deeply "to wound the pride, as well as to affect "the interests of the Americans. Whe- "ther they will make a struggle to avoid "those consequences of their own folly "which are so imminent, or whether their "spirit is so completely evaporated that

"they will readily acquiesce, it is for time "to determine. Much will depend on the "spirit manifested by the Congress. It is "pretty evident that the Federalists will "enter Congress with more influence and "confidence than formerly; and it is not "less certain that even some of the demo-"cratic members will inculpate the Go-"vernment for the disasters of the coun-"try; and thus, whilst they defend the "principle of the war, they will condemn "the conduct of it. No slight expecta-"tions are entertained by the Americans "of getting France to aid their cause. "Let France beware. Her support of "the Americans in their war against this "country was one of the causes that pro-"duced the French Revolution."

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 8.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.—A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the enemy by a sudden incursion have succeeded in invading the capital of the nation, defended at the moment by troops less numerous than their own, and almost entirely of the Militia; during their possession of which, though for a single day only, they wantonly destroyed the public edifices, having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and other repositories of the public archieves, not only precious to the nation *as the memorials of its* ORIGIN *and its early transactions*, but interesting TO ALL nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science. And whereas advantage has been taken of the loss of a fort, more immediately guarding the neighbouring town of Alexandria, to place the town within the range of a naval force, too long and too much in the habit of abusing its superiority wherever it can be applied, to require, as the alternative of a general conflagration, an undisturbed plunder of private property, which has been executed in a manner peculiarly distressing to the inhabitants, who had, inconsiderately, cast themselves upon the justice and generosity of the victor.—And whereas it now appears, by a direct communication from the British Commander on the American station, to be his avowed purpose to employ the force under his direction, "in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable; adding to this declaration the insulting pretext that it is in retaliation for a wanton destruction committed by the army of the United States in Upper Canada, when it is notorious, that no destruction has been committed, which, notwithstanding the multiplied outrages previously committed by the enemy, was not unauthorised and promptly shewn to be so; and that the United States have been as constant in their endeavours to reclaim the enemy from such outrages, by the contrast of their own example, as they have been ready to terminate, on reasonable conditions, the war itself.—And whereas these proceedings and declared purposes, which exhibit deliberate disregard of the principles of humanity, and the rules of civilised warfare, and which must give to the existing war a character of extended devastation and barbarism, at the very moment of negotiations for peace, invited by the enemy himself, leave no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in manful and universal determination to chastise and expel the invader.—Now, therefore, I, James Madison, President of the United States, do issue this my Proclamation, exhorting all the good people thereof to unite their hearts and hands in giving effect to the ample means possessed for that purpose. I enjoin it on all Officers, civil and military, to exert themselves in executing the duties with which they are respectively charged. And more especially, I require the Officers commanding the respective military districts, to be vigilant and alert in providing for the defence thereof; for the more effectual accomplishment of which, they are authorised to call to the defence of exposed and threatened places, portions of the Militia most convenient thereto, whether they be or be not parts of the quotas detached for the service of the United States under requisitions of the general government.—On an occasion which appeals so forcibly to the proud feelings and patriotic devotion of the American people, none will forget what they owe to themselves, what they owe to their country, and the high destinies which await it; what to the glory acquired by their fathers, in establishing the independence which is now to be maintained by their sons, with the augmented strength and resources with which time and Heaven had blessed them.—In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be fixed to these presents.—Done at the City of Washington, the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1814, and of the Independence of the United States the 39th.—By the President,

JAS. MADISON.
JAS. MONROE, Sec. of State.

GAZETTE EXTRA.—GLORIOUS NEWS.

NEW YORK, SEPT. 16.

[*By the Steam Boat Paragon.*]

Copy of a Letter from General Macomb, to his father in this city, dated Sept. 12:—

"FORT MOREAU.

"MY DEAR FATHER——The British army under Sir G. Prevost, consisting of four brigades, each commanded by a Major-General of experience, a light corps, and squadron of dragoons, and an immense train of artillery, invaded us for six days, during which period the troops, in small parties skirmished with them, and took prisoners and killed many. Yesterday they opened their batteries on us with bombs, twenty-four-pounders, howitzers, and rockets, but we silenced the whole at six in the evening. Their fleet attacked ours at the same time, and after an engagement of two hours their large vessels all struck to our gallant Commodore. The gallies ran off. The British Commodore was slain, and the killed and wounded is enormous. Our loss is 115 in killed, and 130 wounded. The British army raised the siege last night, or rather this morning, at two o'clock, and are now in full retreat, leaving in the field their wounded and sick. Sir George has requested me to treat them with humanity and kindness. The whole force does not exceed 1,500 effectives.

"I have sent the militia and light troops

in pursuit. They are constantly taking prisoners and sending in deserters. I am in hopes of destroying at least one-third of the English army. I am in perfect health. My troops are the remnant of General Izard's army, invalids and convalescents, except about 600 men. I am in haste, &c.

"ALEX. MACOMB."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ALBANY, SEPT. 15.

"DEAR SIR—To give some idea of our expectations and belief, I inclose you the Extract issued since yesterday morning. The account brought by Major Tatton, who left the fort on Monday afternoon, and arrived here last evening, is this—'That after Saturday there was no fighting by land, saving throwing of bombs and cannonading; that the fleets were engaged two hours and 15 minutes; that the British Admiral's ship sunk directly after being brought into shallow water; that Governor Prevost sent a flag to the fort to hear the state of the wounded, and the amount of the killed and wounded; that on the return of the flag (being Sunday evening) he commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving his ammunition, provisions, &c. and wounded on the field, the whole amount is estimated at about 60,000l.; that the militia pursued him, and had not returned; that the killed and wounded left by him had amounted to about 400. You have all the particulars as far as I have been able to learn them. It is certain now we have no cause to apprehend a northern excursion from the enemy, and I trust it will have an effect upon his attempts on our city in the south. You have no doubt received ere this my letter of Tuesday evening. If any thing official transpires I will give you the first intelligence thereof.'"

(*From the Northern Centinel Extra.*)

"BURLINGTON, SUNDAY EVENING, SEPT. 11, TEN O'CLOCK.

"GLORIOUS NAVAL VICTORY.

'We have met the enemy and they are ours.'

"By several persons who witnessed the naval engagement on Lake Champlain this day, it is undoubtedly true that four of the largest British vessels have been captured by the fleet. It is stated by many who were in full view, that every British vessel had been captured except three galleys. The British Commodore was killed the first shot. Commodore M'Donough escaped unhurt altogether. Every officer on board his ship was either killed or wounded. The engagement commenced at half-past *p. m.* and continued for two hours and fifteen minutes.

"An attack was made at the same time by land on Plattsburg. We have only heard that the enemy was repulsed, and that the militia distinguished themselves gallantly.

"On board the British ship 106 men were killed. The Growler had but five men alive when taken. Our loss on board the Commodore's ship is 60 killed; wounded not known. Lieut. Perry was not in the engagement, being severely indisposed in the town."

(*From the Troy Register.*)

COPY OF A LETTER FROM JOSEPH W. MOULTON, ESQ. OF MALONE, TO A GENTLEMAN IN THIS VILLAGE, DATED PEREN, SEPT. 11.

"DEAR SIR—This is a memorable day. Rejoice! the British fleet is in our possession, after a battle of two hours and a half, in Cumberland Bay, opposite Plattsburg, which I had the pleasure to witness. The British force, consisting of a 36 gun frigate, one brig mounting 22 guns, two sloops of 10 guns, and three or four row gallies, surrendered to Commodore M'Donough, and the force under his command.

"The conflict was sanguinary and decisive. It is said the enemy had 10 guns more than M'Donough commanded. The action is just closed, and while I write there is a tremendous cannonading and discharge of musketry heard in the direction of Plattsburg.

'The British troops are engaged with ours: the issue dreadful. The attack of the British on land commenced at the same time as that on water.—Their force is much superior to ours, but our gallant little band will give them a warm reception.

"We momentarily expect news from the forts. The mail is waiting, and I must conclude in haste. "Yours, &c.

W. MOULTON."

Albany Gazette Extra, Sept. 16.

"A letter from a gentleman in this city, now at Burlington, dated Sunday evening, Sept. 11, states, that every officer on board Captain M'Donough's ship, himself excepted, were killed at the commencement of the engagement; that the slaughter on board both ships was immense; that the New York Militia was drove about three miles by the British, but at length drove the British and killed many.

DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT PLATTSBURG.

"Gentlemen who arrived in the last evening's Northern Stage, and who left Burlington on Monday morning state, that by a Mr. Tybe and a Mr. Ransom (both respectable and intelligent gentlemen), who left Plattsburg on Sunday evening, information was received of the defeat of the British army, under Sir G. Prevost, and the attack on Plattsburg, after a severe and long contested action, with the loss of between two and three thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The action commenced on land at the same time with that on the Lake. The British, at the commencement of it, forced the Saranac, and drove our troops about three miles, when they were met by the Vermont militia, who came to the aid of their brethren in arms, and fought with the heroic courage and resolution of the ancient Green Mountain Boys. Every man did his duty; every one fought for his country, his family, and his fire-side. Victory was ours, the enemy were defeated, and forced to a precipitate retreat across the Saranac."

NEW YORK, SEPT. 10.

From our Correspondent, Philadelphia, Sept. 15, 1814.—Noon.

"An express has just arrived from Elkton, stating, that the British re-embarked yesterday morning, and dropped down ten miles below Baltimore. Gen. Ross killed while reconnoitring. They had 5000 landed."

Extract of another letter received from Philadelphia per Mail, dated Thursday, 10 minutes past 12 o'clock:—"An express has just come in from the out-post, which brings accounts from Baltimore. It left there yesterday afternoon at three o'clock, and conveys the glorious account that the British were compelled to retreat, and had all re-embarked on board of their shipping. The deserters and prisoners taken, give the account that Gen. Ross was killed reconnoitring, that the fleet had dropped down nine miles. The Baltimorians lost but few men, and were in high spirits."

ADMIRALTY BULLETIN.

"Capt. Crofton, of the Navy, arrived early this morning with dispatches from Sir A. Cochrane, giving an account of a most brilliant victory over the American Army before Baltimore, in which twelve thousand Americans were completely put to the route by about five thousand of our troops, including a brigade of seamen; the Americans fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving two pieces of cannon behind, and all their wounded. We grieve to say, that General Ross, while in reconnoitring, received a musket ball in his breast, and almost immediately expired; and the command devolved on Colonel Brook. As the town of Baltimore, defended by strong works and vessels in the entrance of the harbour, and twenty thousand men, could not be carried without a greater loss than the object was considered to be worth, our gallant little army retreated to their ships without molestation. An account has also been received of Captain Gordon's expedition to Alexandria, which was most complete and most brilliant."

"*Downing-Street, October* 17, 1814,

"Dispatches addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, were received early this morning from Colonel Brook, dated the 17th of September, on board his Majesty's ship *Tonnant*, in the Chesapeake.

"The division of troops under the command of Major-General Ross, effected a disembarkation on the 12th of September, near North Point, on the left bank of the Patapsco River, distant from Baltimore about thirteen miles. Three miles from North Point the enemy had entrenched himself across a neck of land, from which position he precipitately retreated upon the advance of the British troops.

"About two miles beyond this post, the British advance became engaged, when General Ross received a wound in his breast, which proved mortal.

"The advance continued to press forward, the enemy's light troops were pushed to within five miles of Baltimore, where a corps of about six thousand men, six pieces of artillery, and some hundred cavalry, were strongly posted under cover of a wood. Dispositions were immediately made for a general attack, and upon the signal being given, the whole of the troops advanced rapidly to the charge. In less than fifteen minutes the enemy's force, being utterly broken and dispersed, fled in every direction, leaving on the field two pieces of cannon, with a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"The day being far advanced, and the troops much fatigued, they halted for the night on the ground from which the enemy had been driven. At day-break on the 13th, the army again advanced, and at ten o'clock occupied a position eastward of Baltimore, about a mile and a half distant. Arrangements were made for a night attack; but during the evening, Colonel Brook received a communication from the Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, from which it appeared, that, from the sinking of vessels in the harbour, naval co-operation against the town and camp was impracticable.

"Under these circumstances, it was determined not to persist in an attack upon the town, and the troops were withdrawn on the 14th, three miles from their last position, where the army halted, in expectation that the enemy might be induced to quit his entrenchments. The enemy, however, shewing no disposition to follow, towards the evening the troops retired, and took up ground for the night, about three miles and a half farther.

"At a late hour on the 15th, the army was re-embarked at North Point."

List of Officers killed and wounded in action near Baltimore on the 12th Sept.

KILLED.

General Staff—Major-General Robert Ross.

21st Fusileers—Lieut. Gracie.

WOUNDED.

21st Fusileers—Brevet-Major Renny, slightly; Lieutenant Leavocq, severely.

44th regiment—Brevet-Major Cruice, slightly; Captain Hamilton Greenshields, dangerously (since dead); Captain George Hill, Lieutenant Richard Cruice, Ensign James White, severely.

85th Light Infantry—Captains W. P. de Batbe, and J. D. Hicks, and Lieut. G. Wellings, slightly.

Royal Marines—Captain John Robyns severely.

Total British loss—1 General Staff, 1 Subaltern, 2 Serjeants, 35 rank and file, killed; 7 Captains, 4 Subalterns, 11 Serjeants, and 229 rank and file wounded.

BRITISH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE LATE OPERATIONS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, AND AT PLATTSBURG.

Head-quarters, Odell Town, Sept. 13.

GENERAL ORDER.

"The Commander of the Forces has to thank the left division for the steady discipline, unwearied exertions, and gallantry which have conspicuously marked its short service in the territory of the enemy, so unfortunately arrested in its course by the disastrous fate of the flotilla, that had advanced to co-operate in the ulterior object of the campaign. The intrepid valour with which Captain Downie led his flotilla into action, encouraged the most sanguine hope of complete success, which was early blasted by the fall of that gallant Officer, combined with accidents, to which naval warfare are peculiarly exposed, in consequence of the rudder of his Majesty's ship Confiance being disabled, and the brig Linnet grounding early in the action; thus leaving those ill-fated vessels almost without resource, exposed to the whole force of the enemy. All that undaunted devotion to the service could effect, was evinced on this unfortunate occasion. The Officer in command of the division of gun-boats, acted with judgment, in securing those vessels to the service, when his further efforts in action had become unavailing. The high spirit and conduct displayed by his Majesty's troops in surmounting every obstacle to the occupation of Plattsburg, and in afterwards forcing the passage of the Saranac, leaves no doubt in the mind of the Commander of the Forces, that the most complete and brilliant success would have crowned their ulterior operations, had not the existing circumstance imperiously imposed upon him the necessity of restraining their ardour, as, without naval co-operation, the further prosecution of the service would have been highly inexpedient. The Commander of the Forces avails himself of this opportunity to acknowledge the high sense he entertains of the cordial support he received from Major-General De Rottenburg, and the Major-Generals commanding brigades. The orderly march, made by the left division in re-occupying the position it had advanced from on the 4th inst. notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and the very wretched state of the roads, evinces, in the strongest manner, the judicious arrangements of the Quarter-Master-General and Commissary-General, as well as the unwearied attention of the commanding officers of corps to their duty.—The Commander of the Forces has to express his entire approbation of the arrangements and zealous exertions of Major Sinclair, and the Officers of the Royal Artillery; nor is he disposed to overlook the alacrity and intelligence of the junior Officers of the Royal Engineers, who are thereby entitled to his acknowledgments. His Excellency feels it a just tribute due to the Canadian Voltigeurs and Chasseurs, publicly to notice the report of Major-General Brisbane, that the conduct of those Corps, in their peculiar duties of light troops, has on every occasion been conspicuously judicious and gallant.

(Signed) E. BAYNES, Adj.-Gen. N. A.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

"MONTREAL, SEPT. 6.——Our Fleet sailed yesterday down Lake Champlain, with the view of co-operating with Sir George Prevost's army, which was on its march to take possession of the country proposed to be permanently included in the new line.

"QUEBEC, SEPT. 19.—I am sorry to inform you that the Americans have either taken or destroyed our flotilla on Lake Champlain with great loss on our side, the whole crew of one of our largest ships having been killed or wounded, but five; she had got aground under the enemy's batteries, and would not strike. Only two gun-boats are said to have escaped. Sir George, who was supposed to be marching for Sacket's Harbour, has retreated from Plattsburg to the lines, and I suppose will be obliged to return to Montreal."

ROYAL GAZETTE OFFICE, HALIFAX, SEPT. 24.

A PROCLAMATION.

"By Lieutenant-General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, commanding a Division of his Britannic Majesty's Forces; and by Edward Griffith, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the White, commanding a squadron of his Majesty's Ships of War, employed in taking possession of the Eastern Side of Penobscot River, and all the Country lying between the same River, and the Boundary Line of the Province of New Brunswick, &c. &c. &c.

"Whereas we have taken formal possession, for his Majesty, of all the eastern side of the Penobscot River, and all the country lying between the same river and the boun-

dary line of the Province of New Brunswick, including Long Island, and all the other Islands near and contiguous to the shores thereof.—And whereas it is expedient and necessary, that a Provisional Government be established in that country until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, *We do therefore Order and Command*, for the present, and until further orders to the contrary, all Judges, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers duly commissioned and appointed to keep the peace, and administer justice, and who were acting under the authority of the former Government within that country, will to continue in authority until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further known, and to administer justice, and to preserve peace and good order within the same country, and every part thereof, agreeably to the laws, usages, and customs, in force at the time we took possession of that country; subject, however, to such future orders and alterations as may be expedient.

"And we have appointed Gerard Gosselin, Esq. Major-General in his Majesty's service, or whoever may succeed to the military command in case of his death, or departure, to command and govern that country, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further known, or until the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America shall make other order to the contrary. And we strictly enjoin and command all persons of every description, dwelling and residing within the limits of the before described country, to pay obedience to this Proclamation, and to the said Gerard Gosselin, or to the Senior Officer commanding that country for the time being, and to conduct themselves peaceably and quietly.

"And if any person or persons, residing or inhabiting within the country before described, shall hereafter be found in arms against his Majesty, or aiding or assisting his Majesty's enemies in any other shape, either by conveying intelligence, or otherwise, such person or persons shall be immediately brought before a Court Martial, and on conviction, shall be punished agreeably to Military Law. And all collectors and receivers of the public revenue of that country are enjoined and commanded immediately to render to the proper officer of his Majesty's customs, appointed for that purpose at Castine, a true and exact account of all and every sum or sums of public money in their hands at the time possession was taken of that country for his Majesty, and to pay over the same to the said officer of the customs: and all such collectors and receivers are to account for and pay over in the same manner, all monies by them collected or received since possession of that country was taken by us as aforesaid.

"And all persons inhabiting within the said country and islands, are required to appear before the proper officers, appointed for that purpose, as speedily as possible after the publication hereof, and to take an oath to behave peaceably and quietly, and, while inhabiting and residing within that country, not to carry arms, or in any respect act hostilely towards his Majesty, or any of his subjects. And such inhabitants, after taking such oath, shall be protected in their persons and properties until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known; nothing, however, herein contained is to extend to any property seized and taken as prize previous to the publication hereof, or to the security of the persons or property of those who refuse to take the oath before mentioned.

"And all and every person or persons not being an inhabitant or inhabitants of that country, at the time it was taken possession of by his Majesty's forces, whether such person be a British subject or otherwise, who shall be found sojourning in that country, within the said limits, or passing or repassing within the same, without a proper pass, and licence granted, either by the Governor in Chief of British North America, or by the Admiral Commanding in Chief his Majesty's ships on the coast of North America, or by the Lieutenant-Governors, or Commanders in Chief for the time being, of the Provinces of Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, or by the Admiral Commanding for the time being at Halifax, or from the said Gerard Gosselin, or whoever may succeed him as Senior Officer Commanding within the said country, shall be immediately apprehended and brought to trial before a Court Martial, and punished as for a breach of orders, according to military law; and full power and authority is hereby granted to the said Gerard Gosselin, or whoever may hereafter be Commander in that country, until his Majesty's pleasure be known, to compel any person or persons who may hereafter be guilty of any ho tile, disorderly, or disobedient conduct, or who refuse to take the oath before directed, to be removed from that country, and, to punish such person or persons, who may return to the same, after such removal, according to military law, as for a breach of orders.—And all persons inhabiting or residing within that country, being owner or owners of any ship or ships, vessel or vessels, and who shall have taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, shall be entitled to receive from the Officer of the Customs, appointed at Castine, a certificate, and coasting license, countersigned by the military Officer commanding in that country for the time being, which shall protect such ships or vessels respectively, in fishing or coasting from one harbour or river to the other, within the limits of the country aforesaid; and it shall be lawful for such vessels when furnished with coasting clearances, and permits from the proper officer of the Customs at Castine aforesaid, to carry, without molestation, from one harbour to another, within said district, the produce of that

country, or any goods, wares, or merchandize, lawfully imported into Castine. Provided always that if any ship or vessel so licensed for fishing or coasting, shall be found at the distance of ten leagues from the shore of said country, or to the southward, or westward, of the eastern side of Monhegan Island, or shall be found to the northward or eastward of the line of the Province of New Brunswick, the licence of such vessel or vessels shall be null and void, and it shall be lawful to seize and make prize of such vessel or vessels, the same as if owned by the enemy.—And it shall and may be lawful, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, for any British subject, or person inhabiting within the said country, who shall be admitted to the privilege of a British subject, to import, and bring from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or any of the colonies or plantations thereunto belonging, into the port of Castine, and no other port or place within the said district, in British ships owned and navigated according to law, all goods, wares, and merchandise, which can be lawfully exported from Great Britain or Ireland, to the British colonies; and all goods, wares, and merchandise, which can be lawfully imported from one British colony to another, and to export in like manner, in British ships only, from the said port of Castine, any goods, wares, or merchandise, the produce of the said country, or goods condemned as prize, and to carry the same to Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the British colonies. Provided always, that any British ship, entering, or attempting to enter, any other port, harbour, or place, within the limits of the said country, save the said port of Castine, shall be liable to be seized as prize, and condemned as a British ship trading with the enemy; and, provided also, that nothing herein contained shall authorise British subjects, or persons trading to that country under the authority of this Proclamation, to take up a residence in said country, unless specially licensed for that purpose as aforesaid.

"And all goods imported and exported into or from the said port of Castine, or carried coastwise within the limits of the said country, and all vessels trading to or from the same, whether coastwise or otherwise, shall be subject to all the duties, rules, orders and regulations, which the laws of trade and navigation, and the British Acts of Parliament regulating the trade and fisheries of the British colonies appoint: and which duties shall be collected, and laws of trade, rules, and regulations, executed after the same manner as at the Custom-house, in Halifax, in the province of Nova Scotia.—And we do assure and promise the inhabitants of the country taken possession of as aforesaid, that so long as they shall conform to this proclamation, and behave themselves peaceably and quietly, and shall take and subscribe either the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, or the oath by this Proclamation appointed, they shall be protected both in person and property, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known: and as far as possible, shall have the laws which were in force at the time we took possession of that country, carried into execution by the Judges, Magistrates, and Peace Officers, who were in authority at the time we took possession of the said country, subject however, to such alterations, and ordinances, as the Officer commanding for the time being may deem necessary and expedient, to enable him to support and maintain the power and authority of his Majesty in and over that country, and subject to the authority of that summary and military course of proceeding which the defence of the country may render necessary, and which the Laws of War, amongst civilized nations, authorise.—And we hope that the peaceable demeanour and behaviour of the inhabitants under present circumstances, will be such as will enable the Officer commanding for the time being, to carry into effect, every measure necessary to promote their present security and happiness: but nothing contained in this proclamation is to extend, or be construed to extend, to the establishment of any form of Government, that shall exist longer than until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, and subject to all such orders and regulations as the Prince Regent of the United Kingdom, acting in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, may think expedient to appoint and establish for the permanent Government of that country; until which period we promise to carry into effect this proclamation in every way that will best conduce to the safety and prosperity of the inhabitants of the country, provided they contribute by their peaceable demeanour to the measures necessary and expedient to be taken to hold possession of the country against his Majesty's enemies, to which object the Officer commanding in that country for the time being, is to employ his whole force, and any opposition from the inhabitants of that country to the measures necessary to accomplish that object, will render this Proclamation null and void.

"Given under our Hands and Seals at Arms at Halifax, this 21st day of September, in the 54th year of his Majesty's Reign, Anno que Domini, 1814.

(Signed) "John Coape Sherbrooke, Lieut.-Gen. Commanding.

"Edward Griffith, Rear-Admiral."

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